1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

not antagonistic to Plateau principles, but the exclusiveness with which territory is held is highly atypical. Athabascan groups not only claim nominal title, but are willing to fight to protect their holdings against infringement.

Among Plateau groups recognizing tribal organization there is a tendency toward this rigidness of restriction. The Kutenai and Coeur d'Alêne refuse foreigners the use of their territory, but it must be remembered that all constituent villages have common rights. The Kalispel show only a tendency toward tribal organization, but they require that a visitor from the outside obtain the permission of a chief before hunting within their boundaries. The Yakima carry this notion even further. They insist that such permission be obtained and definitely limit the period of the permit. When the time is elapsed they provide safe convoy for the visitor as far as the Yakima boundary; beyond that point he is upon his own responsibility. Of interest here is the further Yakima practice of stationing scouts at strategic points along the boundary, in the interests of the group as a whole. Thus the lines of demarcation are highly specific here even though the circumscribed area encloses autonomous villages rather than a tribally united people. The adjacent Umatilla and Cayuse tribes treat the Yakima with similar formal hospitality, but give no quarter to their traditional enemies on the south, the Shoshoneans. These southern Plateau groups, together with the Nez Percé and Flathead, maintain tribal or ethnic boundaries on all sides that are quite as specific as the village boundaries on the rivers farther north.[18] The Klamath fall with the central and northern groups, as reflected in Spier's statement,

> The summer camps are rather indiscriminate aggregations of any Klamath, but the winter locations are so fixed of habit as to give a measure of political separatism to the several localities.[19]

Under these conditions it is obvious that the precision with which a boundary line may be indicated is not a function of similar factors in all cases, but may reflect political distinctions either functional or formal, ethnic unity, concordance, or merely geographical conditions.

Chieftainship

In discussing the bases of political organization it has been necessary to refer frequently to the nature of chieftainship. Certain other data will be added here and basic patterns examined.

[18] Ray, *Native Villages*, pp. 17 ff. [19] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 11.

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The office is received either through inheritance or by selection on the basis of achievement everywhere in the Plateau. The principle of heredity may be rigidly applied or may be scarcely more than a nominal pattern modifiable at will. Selection, on the basis of achievement, may

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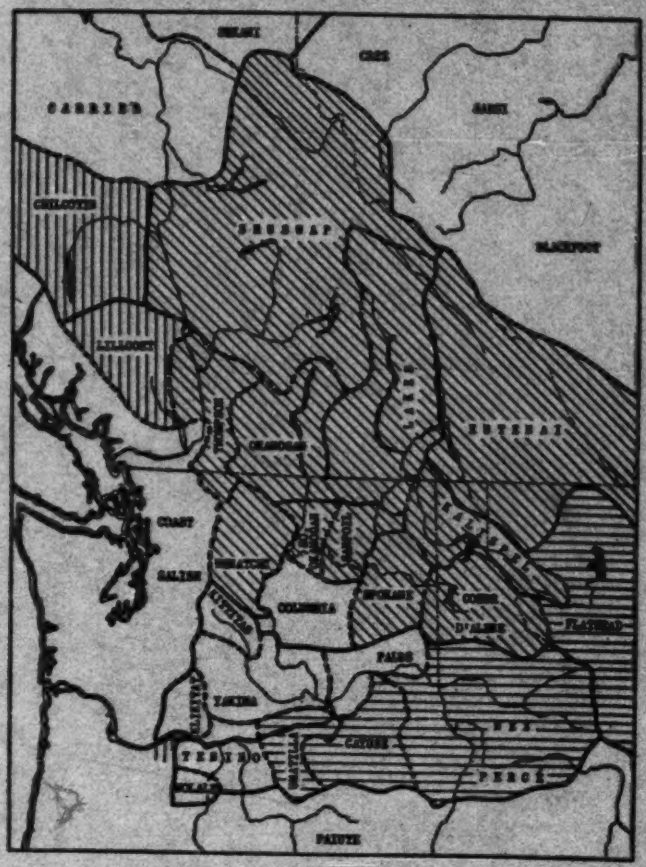

MAP 3. Bases of chieftainship. *Vertical hatching:* strict heredity; *diagonal hatching:* loose heredity; *horizontal hatching:* selection on basis of achievement.

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be according to very formal rules or merely by consensus of opinion. The variations found, however, are not random nor lacking in order. Three patterns emerge with considerable contrast. The first is strict inheritance; this is found only among the Chilcotin, Lillooet, and Wish-

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ram. The second, and most widespread, may be termed loose heredity. The factor modifying the heredity principle is invariably achievement or ability. All of the Plateau Salish, except the Columbia and Flathead, together with the Kutenai, are included in this group. The third type is selection according to more or less arbitrary principles of achievement, with particular emphasis upon war records. The Flathead, Nez Percé, Cayuse, and Umatilla comprise this group. A fourth type might be suggested, with the position acquired through prestige and ability, but without formal selection. Sekani chieftainship is of this type, but it is uncertain whether the Carrier belong here or not.

Nowhere in the Plateau is chieftainship based upon wealth, as on the coast of northern California, nor directly correlated with wealth, as on the Northwest Coast generally. The Klamath are a partial exception since they apply the same term to rich man and chief, and in that all chiefs are rich men. But fundamentally the Klamath link with the southeastern Plateau. Spier explains:

> A chief is one who has acquired his position in war, with some background of spirit experiences, wealth, ability to talk, and a suggestion of hereditary interest; this beyond natural ability for leadership.[20]

The strict inheritance of chieftainship among the Chilcotin, Lillooet, and Wishram is quite obviously a reflection of coastal heredity minus any great emphasis upon wealth. Geographical considerations suggest this, but it is further apparent in the associated emphasis upon lineages (Chilcotin, Lillooet) and correlation with rank (Wishram). A Wishram modification provides for selection from among a number of eligible candidates:

> Several men were simultaneously chiefs. . . . Chieftainship was hereditary; on the death of a chief his place was taken by a son, a brother, a grandson, or some other close relative. . . . A man of parts, well versed in the arts of his people, of accommodating disposition, well provided with property in the form of horses, slaves, canoes, and other valuables, is chosen.[21]

Thus the Wishram form something of a link between strict adherence to heredity and loose heredity. The principal reason for placing them in the former category is that no provision is made for breaking the hereditary line if no satisfactory individual is eligible. Throughout the area of loose heredity this can be done. Among the Sanpoil, for

[20] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 37, 308–10.
[21] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 211.

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622 example, the normal order of hereditary succession is son, brother, brother's son, but no priority is held by one son over another, by one brother over another, etc. Thus the office cannot be filled automatically. In case of vacancy the assembly selects one of those eligible by standards of honesty, sound judgement, even temperament, and, most important of all, skill in arbitration. If no one of the candidates satisfies these requirements, the assembly may choose any man it wishes; often the sub-chief is given the office.[22]

Among the Southern Okanogan the principle is identical, but actual history indicates

> discrepancy between theory and practice. In theory, the people choose the chief and he holds office as long as he retains their approval. Any individual might be chosen, parentage supposedly not determining the selection. In practice, chieftainship is hereditary, and there is no known instance of a chief ever having been deposed from office.[23]

(The Sanpoil office is held throughout life both nominally and actually, except in the event of abdication.)

Teit states that the Thompson lack hereditary chiefs, but explains that

> the fact that a man was the son of a chief gained him a certain amount of popularity. If, however, he failed to possess or attain the necessary qualifications [wealth, wisdom, oratorical powers, prowess in war], he was not called "chief," nor would he be considered in any way different from the mass of the people. Nevertheless chieftaincy has descended in some instances, particularly among the Lower Thompsons, from father to son for several generations.[24]

In other words, the Thompson phrasing differs somewhat from that of their southern neighbors, but the pattern remains essentially the same.

In the southern Plateau a partial parallel is seen among the Nez Percé. Spinden categorically asserts that

> the position of chief was obtained by election. Although fathers were often succeeded by their sons, this was only because the latter had a strong following and not because the chieftainship was regarded as hereditary.[25]

Spinden does not emphasize the formal standards which play so great a role among the Nez Percé and other southeastern tribes. These distinctly set off the southeastern Plateau.

[22] Cf. Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 110. [23] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 97.
[24] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 242. [25] Spinden, *Nez Perce Indians*, p. 242.

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But the parallels with the north must not be under-emphasized. An underlying Plateau unity is very probably present, despite the impressive differences upon which the classification above is postulated. The formal standards mentioned are largely concerned with war activity and the evaluation is in terms of typical Plains coups. The obviously borrowed nature of this complex and the persistence of a tendency to heredity suggests that at an earlier time the southern and northern areas were one in recognizing a loose heredity with definite selection in the hands of the people.

It is highly improbable that the hereditary component of this complex was borrowed from coastal cultures of recent form. Spier has properly emphasized the direct correlation between wealth and rank, and chiefly heredity, on the Coast. Heredity in chieftainship was probably an outgrowth from the wealth-rank complex in its emphasis upon inheritance. In the Plateau wealth and rank are virtually absent. Further, chiefly heredity gives the appearance of respectable antiquity there. In view of these considerations the reasonable conclusion is that the principles of heredity are independent in the two areas. Or, very possibly, the principle as phrased in the Plateau may at an earlier time have characterized both that area and the Coast.

The Sekani fall quite outside these patterns.

> Each band had a leader, who was neither hereditary nor elected, but acquired his position through force of character, skill in hunting, and sane judgement. His authority, therefore, was merely nominal; he was a leader, not a chief; and if he presumed to issue orders, he had no means of enforcing them. When the hunters discussed their affairs over the evening fires and laid their plans for the morrow, the voice of the leader carried more weight, but no more actual authority, than that of the youth who had just entered the ranks of manhood. At any time a new leader might arise and supersede him.[26]

It was noted above that riches and political power are but very slightly correlated in the Plateau. The chief is everywhere, except among the Klamath, known by a distinctive term of address which designates him as a political official. Naturally this term is not applied to his family, nor are they set apart from the rest of the community by virtue of the man's office. Even among the Lillooet this is true, although the chief holds his office by reason of being born to the chiefly lineage. Distinctive insignia are assumed by chiefs of the Umatilla,

[26] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, p. 44.

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Sanpoil, Southern Okanogan, Shuswap, Kalispel, and Lillooet. The practice is lacking for the Kutenai, Flathead, Coeur d'Alêne, Thompson, and Carrier. Information is absent for the remainder of the area. The badge seems to be more a concession to vanity than a mark of authority.

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The powers of a chief vary greatly from tribe to tribe. In the south central Plateau the chief is a leader, counselor, and judge. He directs the movements of his people, attempts to guide their actions in a manner thought wise, concerns himself with the general welfare, arbitrates disputes, and renders the final verdict in all criminal cases which reach him. His greatest power lies in his function as judge. Also, he presides over the council or assembly; here he can strive to direct its actions by oratory and reasoning but has no dictatorial power. Near the time of first white contact with the Southern Okanogan, Alexander Ross observed that

> the government, or ruling power among the Oakinackens is simple yet effective, and is little more than an ideal system of control. . . . It is wonderful how well the government works for the general good, and without any coercive power to back the will of the chief, he is seldom disobeyed: the people submit without a murmur.[27]

The Wishram chief, on the other hand, wields considerable actual power. Spier emphasizes this point, explaining that the chief's word is implicitly obeyed. His position as judge is similar to that of northeastern neighbors but his verdicts are even more binding.[28]

Southward among the Klamath different conditions prevail.

> The emphasis among the chiefly functions is clearly on leadership in war and haranguing the people. Every morning before daylight he addresses them and again in the evening until the sun is well down.[29]

An almost exact parallel to these formal addresses is found among the Southern Okanogan, except that the chief's spokesman is the functionary rather than the chief himself.[30] The Sanpoil spokesman observes a similar, though less formal practice. The relationship with the Plains spokesman is patent. The assumption of this role by the Klamath chief is understandable since the latter is not served by a spokesman.

[27] Ross, *Adventures*, p. 292; cf. Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 111; cf. Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 94 f.

[28] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 212 f.

[29] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 39. [30] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 94.

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War leadership, the other important aspect of Klamath chieftainship, likewise shows Plains linkage although the relationship is probably quite indirect or largely categorical. In the southeastern Plateau, however, the war function is at least equally emphasized, in this case more directly reflecting Plains influence. Among the Umatilla, Cayuse, Nez Percé, and Flathead, certain chiefs are recognized exclusively as war leaders and these hold their positions whether war is actually in progress or not. The whole relationship between war chiefs and peace-time or political chiefs is very much confused. However, in at least some instances the political chief leads the war party, either individually or in company with the war chief. Of major importance is the insistence of informants that the war chief is not just any accomplished warrior, but a definitely recognized individual with a publicly approved record of coups. It is highly probable that the war chief is also political head of the tribe, but that the chief of a village is a political officer without war functions.

Among the Canadian Plateau Salish and the Chilcotin, war leadership and chieftainship are quite divorced. The war leader is merely an accomplished warrior selected for the occasion. If the political chief should qualify he is quite eligible to the position, but this is rather seldom the case. The political chief wields greater power here than to the south. His word carries great weight in council and the average person seldom questions an edict of the chief. On the other hand, the chief does not often act on important matters without consulting the council.

The Carrier chief enjoys power superior even to this. Those who oppose him may be threatened with slavery, though such a threat is seldom carried out.

The chief's spokesman, mentioned above, is characteristic of the south and central Plateau, save the Klamath.[21] In Canada the Lillooet have this officer, but in other groups he is lacking. The Lillooet speaker may be a direct borrowing from the Coast, rather than from the American Plateau. Among the Kutenai and Flathead the herald takes the place of the spokesman, as might be anticipated adjacent to the Plains. The spokesman and herald should not be contrasted too greatly; their functions definitely overlap. Both carry the words of the chief to the people, but sometimes in quite different fashion. The spokesman is essentially a repeater; he stands beside the chief and relays the words

[21] Spier, *loc. cit.*, cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 312 f.

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of the latter with quite literal accuracy. Often the chief speaks in a voice hardly above a whisper, while the speaker is expected to make himself heard by all, and to provide proper emphasis to what is being said. The herald, on the other hand, is largely a messenger who shouts out the orders and advice of the chief as he rides about the village or camp. He is not held to a literal presentation of the chief's words, but is expected to express the general thought freely and effectively.

In parts of the Plateau the spokesman performs the duties of the typical herald in addition to serving as a repeater. This is true among the Tenino, Umatilla, Nez Percé,[22] Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel, Southern Okanogan, and Sanpoil. Among the last two, at least, formal haranguing is a performance of the spokesman-herald in his own right.

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Women occupy seats in council or assembly among a number of central Plateau groups, and in some cases they are eligible to chieftainship. Female chiefs are known to the Southern Okanogan, Lakes, and possibly the Coeur d'Alêne. They may have been present in other groups, although most informants deny it today. The Lakes declare that no greater or more capable chief has even been known to them than a particular woman who held office fairly recently. It is quite clear that female chieftainship is here a simple outgrowth of the principle of political and sexual equality.[23]

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The Shuswap, Lower Thompson, and Carrier occasionally recognize female chiefs as well, but here the implications are quite different. A woman is accepted only for the sake of perpetuating a particular lineage in the absence of a male successor.[24] The coastal origin of this practice is obvious.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Class and Rank

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Peoples of the Plateau have remained impressively unreceptive to the notions of caste which are so strongly emphasized on the Coast. The only tribes in any way influenced are those in direct contact along the boundary of the two areas. The Plateau attitude is not one of passive disregard; on the contrary, the opposite principle, that of equality of man, is given active and emotional support.

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The Sanpoil are among the most outspoken in this respect. To them

[22] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 243.
[23] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 95 f.; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 154.
[24] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 582; Morice, *Canadian Dénés*, p. 202.

721 Teit declares that peace generally prevailed among all the Salishan tribes of the American Plateau prior to the coming of the horse. He heard of no wars even after that time by the Sanpoil, Colville, Southern Okanogan, Okanogan, or Lakes, against any other Salishan group of the American Plateau. Nor did the Flathead engage in war with other Salishan groups. But in another place Teit asserts that

> the Pend d'Oreilles [Flathead] and Kalispel had a few wars long ago. Once or twice they had short wars with the Coeur d'Alêne, and once the Kalispel helped the Spokane in a war with the latter. . . . There were no wars with the Colville or any tribes of the Okanogan group [Sanpoil, Southern Okanogan, Lakes].[a]

This does not deny the existence of raids and occasional small scale feuds. The Southern Okanogan, for example, "are much afraid of the Thompson because they raid at night, looting and burning tipis. They fight only when the Southern Okanogan surprise them in their attacks."[b] Raiding parties are groups of adventurers, usually two or three canoes full, who are bent on personal gain and whose actions are not representative of the attitudes of the tribes from which they come. Raids are usually made at night or when the able-bodied men of a village are absent. The Sanpoil suffer from the depredations of the Lakes, Shuswap, Coeur d'Alêne, and Nez Percé.[c] Lakes villages are sometimes sacked by the Shuswap and Kutenai. Retaliatory raids are seldom made by the Southern Okanogan or Sanpoil, but the Lakes sometimes seek revenge.

622 628 According to Teit, feuds between families occur less often among the Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, and Lakes than among the Thompson. Chiefs attempt to bring about settlement of such conflicts by arbitration. The payment of blood money is often necessary.[d]

Serious quarrels sometimes develop over gambling disputes. A Lakes example is instructive, both as to the nature of such controversies and the efforts of chiefs to maintain peace:

> A large number of people had gathered at Marcus, in southern Lakes territory, for trading purposes. The group included Lakes, Spokane, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, and Kutenai. During the progress of a gambling game a bitter dispute developed between a Lakes and a Spokane. The Lakes loaded his

[a] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 257, 359 f.
[b] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 78.
[c] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 25, 115.
[d] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 259.

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gun while the Spokane boasted, "What do you intend to do with that gun? You know my body is made of iron and nothing can hurt me." "Yes, I know," the Lakes answered, but raised the weapon and fired, killing his adversary. A second Spokane rushed up and he too was killed. Now the Spokane drew knives and killed the Lakes gunman. The two sides retired for reënforcements and shortly thereafter faced each other again.

Now Gregory, the Lakes chief, stripped off his clothing and walked between the two opposing lines. The Spokane shouted for his death, saying that the score would thereby be evened. But Gregory spoke: "You say that nothing but my death will stop you from fighting." Turning to his own people he continued, "There is nothing to stop you from fighting except your own will power." Then to all, "When I lie dead, the sun will disappear behind the clouds; there will be no sun. Deep darkness will prevail. No one can know how long it will remain dark. There will be no children, no old crippled folk. I do not wish to frighten you. But if you drop your arms, the trail will be opened. The sun will slowly appear. The old blind people will have a night to sleep. Then the trail will be open. We shall have no more bloody days until the end of our time. You can kill me if you will, but if you drop your arms, there will be no more bleeding. We shall have an open trail." It is said that the antagonists dispersed.

In similar manner a Sanpoil chief dissuaded his people from attempting retaliation against a raiding party: "Our children are dead and our property is destroyed. We are sad. But can we bring our children to life or restore our property by killing other people? It is better not to fight. It can do no good."

Northern Warfare

Teit's description of Thompson warfare serves well as a type picture for the Canadian interior Salish. 721

The Thompson Indians often engaged in war-expeditions. Up to 1858, and even later, regular tribal wars, in which one whole tribe was arrayed against another, were very rare. Most of their warfare was for the sake of plunder, adventure, or revenge. War parties numbered from five or six individuals to companies of several hundred. A man who refused to join in these war-expeditions lost the respect of his fellows. Though many of the chiefs favored peace rather than war, yet there was seldom much difficulty in obtaining men for these expeditions, many joining for the sake of the spoils, others merely from love of adventure or to obtain distinction. . . . The war-party was under the command of a war-chief. Young men of little experience were always kept in the middle of the party. The best men always led. A number of scouts were sent ahead, and watched the camp at night. Large parties employed four

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

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"Upper Spokan" for those of the Little Spokane river valley and eastward.[41] These are unfortunate confusions; local usage in no way conforms. The Middle Spokane are the peoples of the middle Spokane river country and the Upper Spokane are those of the upper Spokane river country, the territories in each case extending for considerable distances both north and south of the river. Thus "upper" refers to upriver, not "upper" in the sense of north on our maps or somewhat higher in altitude. Teit's alternative terms of "Little Spokan" for the Little Spokane river valley peoples and "South Spokan" for those of the Latah valley are not objectionable except that they suggest a greater demarcation between these groups than existed.

Upper Spokane: snxwɔmɛ'ne, "people of steelhead trout place" (from village name, nxwɔmɛ'ne, village no. 20). See map, fig. 3. See Middle Spokane.

Nespelem: snspi·'lux^{a}, "prairie people, Nespelem people" (from village name, nspi·'lɔm, no. 2). See map, fig. 4. Further information will be found in Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem."

Sanpoil: snpui·'lux^{a}, "people of the gray country" (from village name, npui·'lux^{a}, no. 15). See map, fig. 4. See Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem."

Southern Okanogan: also called the Sinkaietk; snɔq'aie'tk^{a}, (personified place name). See map, fig. 1. The southern boundary of this group is the least definite. A partial explanation is that the country south of the portion of the Columbia river on which Southern Okanogan villages were located is a vast desert waste, virtually unclaimed. More complete and definite information on boundaries and villages of this group will be available with the publication of Miss Velpha Walters' work (see footnote 34).

Colville: sxoie'ɬp^{a} (group name). See maps, figs. 1, 4. Further information will be found in Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem," and Teit, "Salishan Tribes."

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Chelan: tcɑɬlă'n (group name). See map, fig. 5. The Chelan mixed freely with the Wenatchi, sharing at least one village (Chelan no. 1, Wenatchi no. 5) and using the upper Wenatchee river for salmon fishing. Informants declared, however, that one Chelan chief held more or less power over all Chelan villages.

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Wenatchi: wɪnă'cɛ, "waters (large stream) flowing out" (Sahaptin word), npskwa'us (Salish [Wenatchi] name; group name?). See map, fig. 5.

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40. smkəmi'p ("base, root, or bottom").
At upper end of Slocan lake. (T no. 12)

41. nəmi·'məltəm.
On Caribou lake, to the west of the narrows between the Arrow lakes. (T no. 20)

42. stəxtlu'stəm ("first in line," "leader").
This was a small settlement at the present town of Malo, Washington, about four miles northeast of Curlew lake. It was a permanent camp where trapping, hunting, and trap fishing were possible.

43. skwá'rəxən ("crane").
This was reputedly a Lakes settlement at the present site of Addy, Washington. (E)

KALISPEL VILLAGES

1. clkudl'teu' ("sweat house on bank"?).
This winter village, located on the Clark Fork river opposite the present town of Locke, was one of the largest of the Kalispel, numbering 400 or 500 persons.

2. stsu'qulu'.
This settlement was situated on the east side of Clark Fork river opposite the mouth of Tacoma creek, three miles north of the present Cusick. It was a winter village of 300 or 400 persons. Wood was easily obtained here and game was plentiful in the nearby mountains.

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A chief always was resident either here or at the preceding village.

3. skum'xu'u.
The mouth of Tacoma creek was the site of this summer fishing village. A weir with a funnel trap was maintained here for taking trout, suckers and other small fish. Population, 100 or more.

4. st'lkam'tsi'.
This village, the largest of the Kalispel, was located at the mouth of the Calispel river near Cusick. It was a permanent village but most populous in summer at which time 1,000 persons often gathered, attracted by the communal distribution of the catch at the large fish trap. A chief always was located here.

5. ntcm'kanʌ' ("outlet of lake").
The outlet of Calispel lake was the site of this village. It was a permanent settlement of six to twelve families.

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22. nłpo'tsəntsən.
A summer camp where Tekoa, Washington, is now located. (T, p. 38)

23. tcēlā'tcəlitcəmən.
Half way down Coeur d'Alene lake on the east side. (T no. 2, Coeur d'Alene lake and Spokane river division, p. 39)

24. xant'a·"qən' (refers to Hayden lake).
This was the principal village of the upper Coeur d'Alenes and the home of their chief. It was situated on the north side of Hayden lake at the site of the present town of Hayden Lake. The permanent population was about 100 persons.

25. ntc'amki'nkwı' ("where the lake becomes a river").
This settlement, located where the town of Coeur d'Alene is now found, was larger than no. 24 by perhaps twenty persons, making it the largest of the Coeur d'Alene villages. It was, however, subject to the chief of the preceding village (24), though it had a "head man" in charge of strictly local affairs. This was a permanent settlement.

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26. smələle'na.
Near no. 25, on the same side. (T no. 4, Spokane river division, p. 39)

27. tp'o·'ənē'łpəm.
Very near the no. 26, on the same side. (T no. 5, *idem*)

28. nca·'rept.
A little below no. 26. (T no. 5, *idem*)

29. stcatkwe'i.
A little below no. 28. (T no. 7, *idem*)

30. q'ami·łn ("water falling into a mouth [pothole]").
A small camp, numbering perhaps fifteen people, at Post Falls on the Spokane river.

31. ntsaqe'łpənc ("fir on the banks").
This was a large permanent village situated on the Spokane river about a mile above the place now called Spokane Bridge, Washington. It was the furthest downriver camp of the Coeur d'Alene.

32. mu·'łc ("cottonwood").
This camp of thirty people was to be found near the swamp at the south end of Liberty lake.

5; Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

sions, and that they are guided at night by the polar star.[m] 487

War chiefs are elected for their bravery and past success, having full authority in all expeditions, marching at the head of their forces, and, especially among the Flatheads, maintaining the strictest discipline, even to the extent of inflicting flagellation on insubordinates. With the war their power ceases, yet they make no effort by partiality during office to insure re-election, and submit without complaint to a successor. Except by the war chiefs no real authority is exercised. The regular chieftainship is hereditary so far as any system is observed, but chiefs who have raised themselves to their position by their merits are mentioned among nearly all the nations. The leaders are always men of commanding influence and often of great intelligence. They take the lead in haranguing at the councils of wise men, which meet to smoke and deliberate on matters of public moment. These councils decide the amount of fine necessary to atone for murder, theft, and the few crimes known to the native code; a fine, the chief's reprimand, and rarely flogging, probably not of native origin, are the only punishments; and the criminal seldom attempts to escape. As the more warlike nations have especial chiefs with real power in time of war, so the fishing tribes, some of them, grant great authority to a 'salmon chief' during the fishing-season. But the regular inland

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[m] In calculating time the Okanagans use their fingers, each finger standing for ten; some will reckon to a thousand with tolerable accuracy, but most can scarcely count to twenty. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 324. The Flatheads 'font néanmoins avec précision, sur des écorces d'arbres ou sur des peaux le plan, des pays qu'ils ont parcourus, marquant les distances par journées, demi-journées ou quarts de journées.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 205. Count years by snows, months by moons, and days by sleeps. Have names for each number up to ten; then add ten to each; and then add a word to multiply by ten. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 242. Names of the months in the Pisquouse and Salish languages beginning with January;—'cold, a certain herb, snow-gone, bitter-root, going to root-ground, camass-root, hot, gathering berries, exhausted salmon, dry, house-building, snow.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 211. 'Menses computant lunis, ex sphani, *sol* vel *luna* et dies per ferias. Hebdomadam unicam per splehkakat, *septem dies*, plures vero hebdomadas per s'charkus, id est, vexillum quod a duce maximo qualibet die dominica suspendebatur. Dies autem in novem dividitur partes.' *Mengarini, Grammatica Linguæ Salicæ*, p. 190; *Sproat's Scenes*, p. 270; *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 374.

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5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

622 624 727 567 chiefs never collect taxes nor presume to interfere with the rights or actions of individuals or families.[176] Prisoners of war, not killed by torture, are made slaves, but they are few in number, and their children are adopted into the victorious tribe. Hereditary slavery and the slave-trade are unknown. The Shushwaps are said to have no slaves.[177]

58 In choosing a helpmate, or helpmates, for his bed and board, the inland native makes capacity for work the standard of female excellence, and having made a selection buys a wife from her parents by the payment of an amount of property, generally horses, which among the southern nations must be equaled by the girl's parents. Often a betrothal is made by parents while both

622 624 681 [176] The twelve Oakinack tribes 'form, as it were, so many states belonging to the same union, and are governed by petty chiefs.' The chieftainship descends from father to son; and though merely nominal in authority, the chief is rarely disobeyed. Property pays for all crimes. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 289–94, 322–3, 327. The Chualpays are governed by the 'chief of the earth' and 'chief of the waters,' the latter having exclusive authority in the fishing-season. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 309–13. The Nez Percés offered a Flathead the position of head chief, through admiration of his qualities. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 50, 171. Among the Kalispels the chief appoints his successor, or if he fails to do so, one is elected. *De Smet, Western Miss.*, p. 297. The Flathead war chief carries a long whip, decorated with scalps and feathers to enforce strict discipline. The principal chief is hereditary. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 241–2, vol. ii., p. 88. The 'camp chief' of the Flatheads as well as the war chief was chosen for his merits. *Ind. Life*, pp. 28–9. Among the Nez Percés and Waseçs 'the form of government is patriarchal. They acknowledge the hereditary principle—blood generally decides who shall be the chief.' *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., pp. 652–4. No regularly recognized chief among the Spokanes, but an intelligent and rich man often controls the tribe by his influence. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 475–6. 'The Salish can hardly be said to have any regular form of government.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., pp. 207–8. Every winter the Cayuses go down to the Dalles to hold a council over the Chinooks 'to ascertain their misdemeanors and punish them therefor by whipping'! *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 81–2. Among the Salish 'criminals are sometimes punished by banishment from their tribe.' 'Fraternal union and the obedience to the chiefs are truly admirable.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., pp. 343–4; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 157; *Stanley's Portraits*, p. 63; *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 311–12; *White's Oregon*, p. 189; *Pickering's Races*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. ix., p. 108; *Josst*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. cxxiii, 1849, pp. 334–40.

[177] 'Slavery is common with all the tribes.' *Warre and Vavasour*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 83. Sahaptins always make slaves of prisoners of war. The Cayuses have many. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 654; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 56. Among the Okanagans 'there are but few slaves.... and these few are adopted as children, and treated in all respects as members of the family.' *Ross' Adven.*, p. 320. The inland tribes formerly practiced slavery, but long since abolished it. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 247. 'Not practised in the interior.' *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 243. Not practiced by the Shushwaps. *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 78.